

# Pronouns, Presuppositions, and Semantic Variation

Lisa Matthewson  
*University of British Columbia*

## 1. Introduction

In this paper I intend to establish that the semantics of third-person pronouns is cross-linguistically variable, and in particular, that not all languages possess third-person pronouns which are definite, in the sense of displaying familiarity effects. I will argue for this on the basis of data from St'át'imcets (Lillooet Salish). I will then account for the St'át'imcets data in terms of independently-established differences between St'át'imcets and more familiar languages such as English.

First, some background. In English, third-person pronouns like *she*, *it* or *they* are definite. In Heim's (1982) and Kamp's (1981) frameworks, pronouns are necessarily familiar: they introduce variables which are already present in Dom(F) or the DRS. Many have proposed that pronouns, on at least some of their uses, are disguised definite descriptions; see Cooper (1979), Heim (1990), Neale (1990), von Stechow (1994), Chierchia (1995), Sauerland (2000), among others. And some have claimed that third-person pronouns are in fact definite determiners; see Postal (1966), and more recently Elbourne (2001, 2005), who argues that (1a) has 'an LF almost or precisely identical to' that of (1b) (Elbourne 2005:42).

- (1) a. Every man who owns a donkey beats *it*.
- b. Every man who owns a donkey beats *the donkey*.

According to Elbourne, *it* has the same semantics as *the*. The pronoun and the determiner differ merely in that the former involves NP-deletion.<sup>1</sup>

Elbourne's claim that in English, pronouns are definite determiners raises an important cross-linguistic question: in languages which *lack* definite determiners, what is the semantics of third-person pronouns? Does the pronoun/determiner parallel break down in such languages? Or do we instead find that the semantics of third-person pronouns covaries with that of determiners?

Here I will address these questions by investigating the semantics of

---

I am very grateful to St'át'imcets consultants Gertrude Ned, Laura Thevarge, Rose Agnes Whitley and the late Beverley Frank. I am also very grateful to Angelika Kratzer, Hotze Rullmann, Philippe, Schlenker, Florian Schwarz, Mark Scott, Raj Singh, Tamina Stephenson, Anna Szabolcsi, Satoshi Tomioka, Martina Wiltschko, and audiences at the University of British Columbia, the University of Victoria, and SALT XVIII for helpful discussion. I am especially grateful to Henry Davis, whose contribution to this research is enormous. Errors are my own. This research is supported by SSHRC grants #410-2002-1715, #410-2003-1138, and #410-2005-0875.

<sup>1</sup>Roberts (2004) argues that pronouns differ from definite descriptions in being subject to extra salience requirements; cf. also Heim's (1982:385-386) Prominence Condition. If this is correct, then pronouns cannot be fully equivalent to definite determiners. However, Roberts still analyzes pronouns as inducing familiarity effects parallel to those of definite descriptions. See footnote 17.

pronouns in a language which lacks definite determiners, namely St'át'imcets. St'át'imcets lacks any determiners which display familiarity effects (Matthewson 1998, 1999). Strikingly, third-person pronouns in this language display a parallel result: as observed by Davis (2006), third-person pronouns in St'át'imcets also lack familiarity effects. An example is given in (2), which shows that St'át'imcets allows backwards pronominalization in a context in which English normally does not (as seen by the infelicity of the English gloss).<sup>2</sup>

- (2)      súcwt-en-as                      ta=kúkwpí7=a                      *pro*<sub>ERG</sub>.  
             recognize-DIR-3ERG    DET=chief=EXIS                      *pro*<sub>ERG</sub>.  
                     tálh-lec                      aylh    s=*Mary*  
                     stand.up-AUT    then    NOM=*Mary*  
             'She<sub>i</sub> recognized the chief. # Then Mary<sub>i</sub> stood up.'                      (Davis 2006)

Below, I provide a range of empirical evidence in favor of the proposal that St'át'imcets pronouns are indefinite. I will conclude that third-person pronouns vary in their semantics cross-linguistically, and that the variation seems to be linked to independent variation in the semantics of determiners.

However, the story is not quite that simple as that. I will also show that the pronoun/determiner parallel in St'át'imcets is not complete, since unlike full DPs, pronouns can receive bound variable, E-type, and donkey interpretations. The breakdown in the pronoun/determiner parallel is illustrated for donkey anaphora in (3) vs. (4).

- (3)      tákem i=sqáyqeycw=a                      wa7    az'                      ku=sqáxa7                      wa7  
             all                      DET.PL=men=EXIS                      IMPF    buy                      DET=dog                      IMPF  
                     seksek-n-ítas                      *pro*<sub>ABS</sub>  
                     beat-DIR-3PL.ERG                      *pro*<sub>ABS</sub>  
             'Every man who buys a dog beats *it*.'
- (4)      #tákem i=sqáyqeycw=a                      wa7    az'                      ku=sqáxa7                      wa7  
             all                      DET.PL=men=EXIS                      IMPF    buy                      DET=dog                      IMPF  
                     seksek-n-ítas                      *ti*=sqáx7=a  
                     beat-DIR-3PL.ERG                      DET=dog=EXIS  
             'Every man who buys a dog beats *the dog*.'  
             [only means every man who buys a dog beats one particular dog, say Fido]

The challenge, then, is to find a semantics for St'át'imcets pronouns and determiners which captures the shared absence of a familiarity effect, but blocks donkey and bound interpretations for full DPs while allowing them for pronouns.

<sup>2</sup>All data come from primary fieldwork unless otherwise stated. Abbreviations used: ABS: absolutive, AUT: autonomous intransitivizer, CAUS: causative transitivizer, CIRC: circumstantial modal, COMP: complementizer, CONJ: conjunctive, DEIC: deictic, DET: determiner, DIR: directive transitivizer, EPIS: epistemic modal, ERG: ergative, FOC: focus, IMPF: imperfective, IND: indirective applicative, INSTR: instrument, NOM: nominalizer, OBJ: object, PL: plural, POSS: possessive, PREP: preposition, RED: redirective applicative, SG: singular, STAT: stative, SUBJ: subject, TEMP: temporal. Hyphens mark affix boundaries and equals signs mark clitic boundaries.

The solution I will propose is as follows. St'át'imcets pronouns and determiners share a core semantics similar to that proposed by Elbourne (2005) for English *it* and *the*. The difference between the languages with respect to familiarity effects derives from an independent difference in the nature of presuppositions. As I have argued for other presupposition triggers (Matthewson 2006), the uniqueness presuppositions of pronouns and determiners do not result in a discourse familiarity effect in St'át'imcets. Finally, the absence of non-referential interpretations for full DPs is derived from the deictic presuppositions of the overt determiners, which disallow binding of their situation argument. Full DPs are forced to pick out a unique individual in the salient discourse situation.

The analysis presented here has several theoretical consequences. It provides cross-linguistic support for the pronoun/determiner parallel proposed by Elbourne and others. It provides evidence for predictable cross-linguistic differences in the semantics of pronouns. It provides support for the idea that presuppositions in St'át'imcets do not place the same restrictions on the common ground as English presuppositions do (Matthewson 2006). Finally, it derives the wide-scope effects of full DPs in St'át'imcets via an independently-needed situation semantics, without needing to use choice functions as in Matthewson (1999, 2001). And in so doing, it offers a solution to an empirical problem for the choice function analysis pointed out by Davis (2004).

## 2. St'át'imcets Third-Person Pronouns

St'át'imcets is an endangered Northern Interior Salish language spoken in the southwest interior of British Columbia. There are three sets of third-person pronouns in the language: plain, possessive, and emphatic (the last appearing only in focused environments). I deal only with the plain set here, although possessive pronouns appear to share most if not all relevant properties with the plain set.

The default third-person pronoun in St'át'imcets is *pro*. *pro* co-occurs either with a zero absolutive agreement marker  $\emptyset$ , as in (5a,b), or with an ergative agreement suffix *-as*, as in (5c).<sup>3</sup>

- (5) a. qwatsáts= $\emptyset$  *pro*<sub>ABS</sub>  
       leave= $\text{3}_{ABS}$  *pro*<sub>ABS</sub>  
       'He/she/they/it left.'
- b. ats'x-en- $\emptyset$ =lhkan *pro*<sub>ABS</sub>  
       see-DIR- $\text{3}_{ABS}$ =1SG.SUBJ *pro*<sub>ABS</sub>  
       'I saw him/her/them/it.'
- c. ats'x-en-túmulh-as *pro*<sub>ERG</sub>  
       see-DIR-1PL.OBJ- $\text{3}_{ERG}$  *pro*<sub>ERG</sub>  
       'He/she/they/it saw us.'

<sup>3</sup>On the affixal vs. clitic status of the endings, see Davis (2000b).

In the absolutive plural, with a human referent, there is an optional overt pronoun *wit*.<sup>4</sup> Davis (2003) argues on the basis of extraction and other evidence that unlike the ergative suffix *-as* or the zero absolutive  $\emptyset$ , *wit* is a real pronoun, not an agreement (see also Roberts 1999). Thus, in (6), there are no *pros*. The *wit* is itself the pronoun.

- (6) a. *qwatsáts=wit*  
       leave=3PL  
       ‘They left.’  
       b. *ats’x-en-wít=kan*  
       see-DIR-3PL=1SG.SUBJ  
       ‘I saw them.’

For the rest of the paper, I will only show *pros* in example sentences if they are relevant, and I will not mark zero absolutive agreement.

The first empirical generalization to be established is that *pro* and *wit* share all the interpretations of English third-person pronouns: they have referential, bound variable, donkey, and other E-type interpretations. Referential pronouns are illustrated in (7-8). In each case, the pronoun in the last sentence refers to the individual(s) introduced in the preceding sentence(s).

- (7) *wá7=lhkan*      *lexlák-s*      *ta=n-spápz7=a*  
 IMPF=1SG.SUBJ remember-CAUS DET=1SG.POSS-grandfather=EXIS  
*s=Síkil,*      *pináni7*      *i=w=at*  
 NOM=Síkil TEMP.DEIC when.PAST=IMPF=1PL.CONJ  
*ka-gúy’t-a*      *lh=at*      *wa7*      *ílhén*  
 CIRC-sleep-CIRC COMP(IMPF)=1PL.CONJ IMPF eat  
 ‘I remember my grandfather *Síkil*, when we had fallen asleep while eating.’  
  
*nilh=tu7*      *s=e=s*      *kwan-túmulh-as*      *pro<sub>ERG</sub>*      *nilh*  
 FOC=PAST NOM=IMPF=3POSS take(DIR)-1PL.OBJ-3ERG *pro<sub>ERG</sub>* FOC  
*s=a=s*      *tsicw-s-tumúlh-as*      *áta7*      *ta=sk’ém’ts=a*  
 NOM=IMPF=3POSS get.there-CAU-1PL.OBJ-3ERG DEIC DET=door=EXIS  
 ‘He would get us and take us to the door.’ (Matthewson 2005:186)

- (8) *nilh*      *ni=wa7*      *tsún-itas*      *James Link*      *skwátsits-s=a*  
 FOC DET=IMPF say(DIR)-3PL.ERG *James Link* name-3POSS=EXIS  
 ‘*James Link* was his name.’  
  
*múta7*      *i=sésq’wez’-s=a*      *George Link*      *múta7*      *Felix Link*  
 and DET.PL=younger.sibling=EXIS *George Link* and *Felix Link*  
 ‘And his younger brothers were *George Link* and *Felix Link*.’

<sup>4</sup>*wit* does not appear in object position when there is a third person subject.

plan=*wit*=tu7      aylh      tákem      wa7      zuqw  
 already=3PL=PAST      then      all      IMPF      die  
 ‘They’ve all already died.’      (Matthewson 2005:124)

Bound pronoun uses of *pro* and *wit* are shown in (9-10).

- (9)      *tákem swat*      pzan-ítás      kelh      ti=smúlhats=a  
          all who      meet(DIR)-3PL.ERG      FUT      DET=woman=EXIS  
          ti=wa7      xwey-s-twítas      *pro*<sub>ERG</sub>  
          DET=IMPF love-CAUS-3PL.ERG      *pro*<sub>ERG</sub>  
          ‘Everyone will meet the woman that *he* loves.’
- (10)      *tákem swat*      wa7      tsut-ánwas      k=wa=s      lexlex=*wít*  
          all who      IMPF      say-inside      DET=IMPF=3POSS      smart=3PL  
          ‘Everyone thinks *they* are smart.’  
          [= each person thinks they themselves are smart]

Donkey pronouns are illustrated in (11-12); examples are given only with *pro*, as *wit* does not appear in a clause with two third-person arguments, as mentioned in footnote 4. The comment given by the consultant for (12) supports the claim that these sentences have typical (universal) donkey-interpretations.

- (11)      lh=wa=s      s-kaoh      ku=smúlhats,      papt=t’u7      wa7  
          COMP=IMPF=3POSS      STAT-car      DET=woman      always=just      IMPF  
          ts’ex-n-ás      *pro*<sub>ABS</sub>  
          clean-DIR-3ERG      *pro*<sub>ABS</sub>  
          ‘If a woman owns *a car*, she always cleans *it*.’
- (12)      *tákem* i=sqáycw=a      wa7 s-qáxa7      wa7 sek-en-ítás      *pro*<sub>ABS</sub>  
          all      DET.PL=man=EXIS IMPF STAT-dog      IMPF hit-DIR-3PL.ERG      *pro*<sub>ABS</sub>  
          ‘Every man that has *a dog* hits *it*.’

If one man has five dogs and only hits one of them: “Sounds wrong.”

Finally, *pro* and *wit* may also function as (other types of) E-type pronouns. As this generalization has not been established before, I give a range of E-type pronoun cases in (13-17).

- (13)      wa7      tsutánwas      k=John      kw=s=cuz’      kwámem      ku=ts’úqwaz’  
          IMPF think      DET=John      DET=nom=going.to take      DET=fish  
          nílh=t’u7      xát’-min’-as      kw=en=cuz’      q’wél-en      *pro*<sub>ABS</sub>  
          FOC=just      want-RED-3ERG      DET=1SG.POSS=going.to      cook-DIR      *pro*<sub>ABS</sub>  
          ‘John thinks that he will catch *a fish*, and he hopes that I will cook *it*.’
- (14)      kan      xát’-min’      kw=n=s-tsmal’t,      nílh  
          1SG.SUBJ      want-RED      DET-1SG.POSS-STAT-offspring      FOC



given in (18), which is the first line of the story ‘The Swimmer’ by Sam Mitchell. The translators of the story have made the English version felicitous by inserting a full noun phrase, where the St’át’imcets version simply uses *pro*.

- (18) wa7 *pro*<sub>ABS</sub> áku7 káti7, ka-7ats’x-s-ás-a lt7u  
 be *pro*<sub>ABS</sub> DEIC DEIC CIRC-see-CAUS-3ERG-CIRC DEIC  
 x7ílh=a i=wa7 záw-em  
 other.side-DET DET.PL=IMPF fish-MID

*Literal translation:* ‘He was there, he caught sight of the ones who were fishing over on the other side.’

*Felicitous English translation:* ‘There was *this man* ...’

(van Eijk and Williams 1981:72)

Another example, which involves possessive pronouns but makes the same point, is given in (19). This is the first line of the story ‘Grizzly Bear and Black Bear’s Children’ by Adelina Williams. The sentence introduces the topical discourse referents, the bear cubs, only by referring to them via pronouns. Note that the cubs themselves are not digging; thus, the *some bears* in the English gloss does not introduce a discourse referent for the cubs.

- (19) wa7 kém’-em i=míxalh=a, ti=sqatsez7-í=ha  
 IMPF dig.roots-MID DET.PL=bear=EXIS DET-father-3PL.POSS=EXIS  
 múta7 ti-skicez7-í=ha  
 and DET=mother-3PL.POSS=EXIS (van Eijk and Williams 1981:14)  
 ‘Some bears were digging roots, *their* father and *their* mother.’

Of course, even in English, stories sometimes begin with out-of-the-blue definite descriptions or pronouns, and the reader is expected to accommodate the familiarity presupposition. It is also possible that even though (18) and (19) are apparently discourse-initial, there was some prior agreement about which story was going to be told, and therefore that the referents were familiar to the hearers. More convincing evidence for non-familiar pronouns therefore actually comes from cases in the *middle* of stories, since here the discourse context is clear. Examples of this type are given in (20-21). In (20), the third line contains a *wit* which comes out of the blue; at this stage of the discourse we have no idea who left to go back down the hill. The reference is resolved in the following sentence by the mention of boys, but the literal English translation still sounds very odd.

- (20) t’íq=kalh ti=cácl’ep=a  
 arrive=1PL.SUBJ DET=Fountain=EXIS  
 ‘We arrived up at Fountain.’

q’íl=lhkalh áku7, wá...7=lhkalh káku7,  
 get.on.top=1PL.SUBJ DEIC be=1PL.SUBJ DEIC  
 ‘We got there, we stayed there for a while,’

qwatsáts=*wit* súxwast múta7  
 leave=3PL descend again  
 ‘and then *they* left to go back down the hill.’

slhay káti7 ku=s=záyten-s ku=twéw’w’et  
 overconfident DEIC DET=NOM=business=3POSS DET=boys  
 ‘You know how boys think they can do anything.’  
 (‘The Truck Rolls’ by Bill Edwards)

(21) is a similar case. Here, the pronoun reference is never explicitly resolved.

- (21) pákw=kalh-a tsicw kent7ú pankúph=a  
 set.off=1PL.SUBJ-CIRC get.there DEIC Vancouver=EXIS  
 ‘We left and went back to Vancouver.’
- “Oh my” kan tsún=*wit* “lháp-en=lhkan=tu7  
 “Oh my” 1SG.SUBJ tell(DIR)-3PL forget-DIR=1SG.SUBJ=then  
 ni=n-sts’úqwaz’=a  
 DET=1SG.POSS-fish=EXIS  
 ‘“Oh my,” I told *them*, “I forgot my fish.”’  
 (‘them’ = my husband and children) (Thoma to appear)

The non-familiarity of *pro* and *wit* is also evidenced in fieldwork situations. Although caution is required due to the unnaturalness of the elicitation environment, it is striking that backwards pronominalizations are easy to obtain, and crucially are acceptable in constructions in which the corresponding English glosses are infelicitous. Examples are given in (22-23); see also (2) above.<sup>6</sup>

- (22) ni=s-pála7-s=a [q’7-ál’men *pro*<sub>ABS</sub>], nilh [s=wa7=s  
 DET=NOM-one-3POSS=EXIS eat-want *pro*<sub>ABS</sub>] then [NOM=IMPF=3POSS  
 cwíl’-em ti=nk’yáp=a ku=sq’a7-s]  
 seek-MID DET=coyote=EXIS DET=food-3POSS]  
 ‘Once upon a time, *he* was hungry, so *a coyote* went looking for his food.’
- (23) na=s-pála7-s=a [táy=*wit*], nilh [s=wa7=s  
 DET=NOM-one-3POSS=EXIS [hungry=3PL] then [NOM=IMPF=3POSS  
 cwíl’-em ku=s7ílhen ta=nk’yáp=a múta7 ta=sxgwálcw=a]  
 seek-MID DET=food DET=coyote=EXIS and DET=fox=EXIS]  
 ‘Once upon a time, *they*<sub>i</sub> were hungry, so [a coyote and a fox]<sub>i</sub> went looking for food.’  
 (Davis 2006)

The data presented in this section show that *pro* and *wit* are routinely volunteered and accepted in contexts in which their reference is not (yet) clear

<sup>6</sup>The element *nilh* in these examples is a clausal conjunction, and may not conjoin VPs; see Davis (2000a). This rules out an alternative syntactic structure for e.g., (22) whereby two VPs are coordinated and there is no *pro* in the first conjunct.



from the discourse context. I conclude that these St'át'imcets pronouns have no familiarity requirement.

### 3.1. Further Evidence for Indefinite Pronouns

If *pro* and *wit* are not definite, then they should be felicitous in prototypical indefinite environments such as existential sentences and sluicing contexts.<sup>7</sup> As far as the language allows us to test this prediction, it is upheld.

(24) illustrates the St'át'imcets existential construction. The sentence is introduced by the locative-existential predicate *wa7*; a pivot follows, which may not be a strongly quantified phrase.

- (24) *wa7* [\*tákem / cw7it i=ucwalmícw=a] láku7 l=ti=lep'cálden=a  
 be [all / many DET.PL=person=EXIS] DEIC in-DET-garden=EXIS  
 'There are \*all / many people in the garden.'

Placing a pronoun into the pivot position results in an acceptable sentence:

- (25) *Context: You are sitting eating breakfast looking out at your garden and you see two people walking in the garden. You tell your grandson:*

*wá7=wit láku7 l=ti=lep'cálden=a*  
*be=3PL DEIC PREP=DET=garden=EXIS*  
 'There's *them* in the garden.'

There is an unavoidable wrinkle with (25), since the sentence has an alternative structural analysis as 'They are in the garden'. Under this analysis, the *wit* is simply the subject of the locative predicate *wa7* and we may not be dealing with an existential construction per se. However, it is significant that *wit* is grammatical in a construction in which strong quantifiers are ruled out (cf. (24)). Furthermore, even the alternative structure illustrates an absence of familiarity effects. The acceptability of (25) clearly contrasts with the English 'They are in the garden', which is infelicitous in the given discourse context.

A similar situation obtains with sluicing (Chung et al. 1994). The data in (26-27) show that sluicing-like structures are felicitous in St'át'imcets with the pronouns *pro* or *wit* in the position of the necessarily indefinite noun phrase.

- (26) *Context: You are going camping in a camping ground and you start setting up your tent. A guy comes around and says that he is the attendant and tells you to pay him \$20 for the night. You pay him, even though you're not really sure if he is the right guy or not. Then your husband comes back and you tell him:*

*xáq'-en=lhkan pro<sub>ABS</sub>, t'u7 áoy=t'u7 kw=en=zwát-en*  
*pay-DIR=1SG.SUBJ pro<sub>ABS</sub> but NEG=just DET=1SG.POSS=know-DIR*

<sup>7</sup>Thanks to Hotze Rullmann (p.c.) for suggesting these tests.

lh=swát=as  
 COMP=who=3CONJ  
 ‘I paid *him*, but I don’t know who.’

- (27) *Context: You like to go for late-night walks on the reserve when it’s all peaceful. No-one else does that, so you never see anyone. But tonight you saw two people in the distance. When you get home you tell your husband (discourse-initially):*

i=w=an                                      mām’teq    ats’x-en-wít=kan,                      t’u7  
 when.PAST=IMPF=1SG.CONJ    walk                      see-DIR-3PL=1SG.SUBJ                      but  
 áoy=t’u7    kw=en=zwát=en                      lh=swát=as  
 NEG=just    DET=1SG.POSS=know-DIR                      COMP=who=3CONJ  
 ‘When I was walking I saw *them*, but I don’t know who.’

As with the existential sentences, there are language-specific reasons why (26-27) may not actually be cases of sluicing. In St’át’imcets, *wh*-words function as predicates, so it is impossible to prevent the structure from involving a full ‘who it was’ clause (Henry Davis, p.c.). However, (26-27) still illustrate the non-familiarity of the pronouns. The English counterparts containing definite *him* or *them* are quite infelicitous in the given discourse contexts.

In summary, we have used a variety of discourse contexts and three (in)definiteness tests, and in no case was there any evidence for a definiteness or familiarity effect with St’át’imcets *pro* and *wit*. I conclude that these pronouns do not carry familiarity presuppositions, and thus that they differ in their semantics from English third-person pronouns.

#### 4. A Parallel Between St’át’imcets Pronouns and Determiners

In this section I will show that the lack of familiarity effects demonstrated above for *pro* and *wit* is shared by St’át’imcets determiners.

St’át’imcets possesses two kinds of determiners, neither of which is definite. One set are polarity items which are infelicitous in most definite environments; see Matthewson (1998) for discussion. The second set of determiners, which all include an enclitic =*a*, are shown in (28). They encode distinctions of plurality and spatial distance from the speaker of the utterance.

- (28) St’át’imcets determiners (adapted from Matthewson 1998, van Eijk 1997):

		present	absent	invisible
- plural		<i>ti</i> =...= <i>a</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>ni</i> =...= <i>a</i>	<i>ku</i> =...= <i>a</i>
+ plural	-collective	<i>i</i> =...= <i>a</i>	<i>nelh</i> =...= <i>a</i>	<i>kwelh</i> =...= <i>a</i>
	+ collective	<i>ki</i> =...= <i>a</i>		

<sup>8</sup>Dialectal variant *ta*=...=*a*.



disguised definite descriptions, Elbourne explicitly equates the pronoun with the definite determiner itself. He also generalizes the pronoun-determiner correlation to all interpretations of pronouns, including referential and bound variable uses. For Elbourne, then, all third-person pronouns are definite articles, with a phonologically null NP argument. With donkey pronouns, the deleted NP argument is an ordinary NP. With referential and bound variable pronouns, the NP argument is an index.<sup>10</sup>

Elbourne's denotation for *the* is given in (32). It utilizes a situation semantics approach, following Berman (1987), Heim (1990), von Stechow (1994).

$$(32) \quad \llbracket the \rrbracket^g = \llbracket it \rrbracket^g = \lambda f_{\langle\langle s, e \rangle, \langle s, t \rangle\rangle} . \lambda s : \exists! x f(\lambda s'.x)(s) = 1. \iota x f((\lambda s'.x)(s)) = 1$$

(Elbourne 2005:51)

According to (32), *the* takes as arguments an NP and a situation, which is presupposed to contain exactly one element satisfying that NP predicate. The entire definite DP then denotes the unique individual which satisfies the NP in that situation. (31a-b) therefore (roughly) assert that: every minimal situation  $s_1$  containing a man and a donkey he owns is part of an extended situation  $s_2$  in which the unique man in  $s_2$  beats the unique donkey in  $s_2$ . Because there is only one donkey and one man in  $s_2$ , we correctly predict that each man beats the donkey he owns in  $s_1$ . Since this is true for every minimal situation  $s_1$  containing a man-owning-donkey pair, we correctly predict that every man beats all the donkeys he owns.

## 6. Analysis

We want to analyze pronouns as (basically) determiners, to capture the parallelism in their non-familiar semantics. We also need a denotation for the pronouns which allows donkey-binding, as well as all the other interpretations of pronouns. Let's start with Elbourne's (2005:51) denotation for *it*, which satisfies the latter requirements:

$$(32) \quad \llbracket it \rrbracket^g = \lambda f_{\langle\langle s, e \rangle, \langle s, t \rangle\rangle} . \lambda s : \exists! x f(\lambda s'.x)(s) = 1. \iota x f((\lambda s'.x)(s)) = 1$$

For St'át'imcets, there is an apparent problem with (32), namely the uniqueness presupposition. For English, the uniqueness presupposition of (32) is expected, because English third-person pronouns are definite. But we have seen that in St'át'imcets the pronouns, just like the full DPs, are *not* definite.

There are a couple of possible routes we could take to solve this problem. One possibility would be to alter Elbourne's denotation by deleting the offending presupposition. However, Elbourne (following Heim and others) needs the uniqueness presupposition on the pronoun to ensure that the right men beat the

<sup>10</sup>Tomioka (2003) also finds striking parallels between the interpretations of Japanese *pro* and those of full Japanese DPs. Interestingly, Japanese *pro* allows interpretations St'át'imcets *pro* does not, involving existential closure.

right donkeys. Recall that Elbourne's denotation derives that fact that in (31), every minimal situation  $s_1$  containing a man and a donkey he owns is part of an extended situation  $s_2$  in which the unique man in  $s_2$  beats *the unique donkey* in  $s_2$ . Because there is only one donkey and one man in  $s_2$ , we correctly predict that each man beats the donkey he owns in  $s_1$  (see Elbourne 2005:52). Without the uniqueness presupposition, we simply do not derive the correct semantics for a donkey sentence; thus, this option appears to be a non-starter. Note also that the presupposition on the donkey pronoun is used by von Stechow (1994:158ff) to derive the anomaly of (33) and other similar cases:

(33) #If there isn't a donkey in the backyard, we should feed *it*.

The St'át'imcets counterparts of cases like (33) are infelicitous just as in English, as shown in (34). This again suggests that we cannot simply do away with the presupposition.

(34) #lh=cw7áoz=as káku7 ku=ts'í7 l=ti=lep'calten-lhkálh=a,  
 HYP=NEG=3CONJ DEIC DET=deer PREP=DET=garden-1PL.POSS=EXIS  
 áma=ka lh=am'ts-án'-m=as *pro*<sub>ABS</sub>  
 good=IRR COMP=feed-DIR-1PL.ERG=CONJ *pro*<sub>ABS</sub>  
 'If there isn't a deer in the garden, we should feed it.'

A second option to deal with the problematic presupposition would be to claim that (32), in spite of involving a *uniqueness* presupposition, does not involve *familiarity*. This would mean that we could adopt (32) for St'át'imcets pronouns, but for English pronouns, we would need to add some extra familiarity requirement.

The debate about familiarity vs. uniqueness in English definite descriptions has a long history; see Heim (1982, 1983), Kadmon (1987), Hawkins (1991), Birner and Ward (1994), Abbott (1999, 2003, 2005), Ludlow and Segal (2002), Szabo (2000, 2003), among many others, for discussion. It is not my goal to add to this debate, and I will remain agnostic on how the familiarity effect for English definites is derived. However, the analysis I will argue for below does rely on the idea that what differentiates English and St'át'imcets pronouns and determiners is not uniqueness, but familiarity. The core generalization is as follows: while in both languages, pronouns have uniqueness effects, only in English do pronouns have a familiarity effect.<sup>11</sup> I will achieve this result not by altering Elbourne's denotation for English definites, but rather by relying on a language-wide parametric difference in the nature of presuppositions, which I have previously proposed on the basis of other presupposition triggers (Matthewson 2006). Once we accept that in the entire St'át'imcets language, presuppositions have a different discourse effect than they do in English, we will be able to adopt Elbourne's (32) for both languages and derive the correct results.

The basic claim (see Matthewson 2006) is that presuppositions in

<sup>11</sup>In Matthewson (in press) I propose something similar for St'át'imcets *nukw* 'some, other', which possesses a non-maximality presupposition but lacks the familiarity effect of English *other*.

St'át'imcets do not place the same constraints on the common ground as English presuppositions do. The core fact which led me to make this proposal is that von Fintel's (2004) 'Hey, wait a minute!' test fails to apply in St'át'imcets. The HWAM test is illustrated in (35), from von Fintel (2004:271). We see that it is felicitous to challenge a failed presupposition with an expression of surprise, but it is not felicitous to challenge an previously unknown assertion in the same way. The test thus provides an excellent way to detect presuppositions as opposed to asserted material.

- (35) A: *The mathematician who proved Goldbach's Conjecture is a woman.*  
 B: Hey, wait a minute. I had no idea that someone proved Goldbach's Conjecture.  
 B': #Hey, wait a minute. I had no idea that that was a woman.

In St'át'imcets, elements which correspond to a range of English presupposition triggers have been tested (e.g., words for 'again', 'also', 'stop', 'more', and cleft constructions). Failure of the hypothesized presuppositions are never challenged by hearers in a way which distinguishes failed presuppositions from new asserted information. One example is given in (36).

- (36) *Context: A couple are in love and decide to get married. As far as she knows, he has never been married before. He says to her:*

áma n-scwákwewkw=a kw=en=s=cuz' melyih múta7  
 good 1SG.POSS-heart=EXIS DET=1SG.POSS=NOM=going.to marry again  
 'I'm happy to be getting married again.'

What would she reply?

áma t'it n-scwákwewkw=a  
 good also 1SG.POSS-heart=EXIS  
 'I'm also happy.'

The use of *múta7* 'again' in (36) does not phase the consultant in the slightest, and she does not offer a HWAM response. The reader is referred to Matthewson (2006) for similar results for a range of other presupposition triggers.

Data such as this have led me to argue that the St'át'imc language as a whole does not require presuppositions to be shared knowledge between speaker and hearer. Thus, I analyze the elements which correspond to English presupposition triggers as also triggering presuppositions in St'át'imcets, but of a different type. Following Gauker's (1998) analysis of English (which, however, I reject for English, following von Fintel 2000), I argue that a presupposition in St'át'imcets merely represents the *speaker's own take* on the propositional context (where the propositional context contains propositions that 'are relevant to the conversational aims of the interlocutors, whether they are aware of these facts or not' (Gauker 1998:150)). The effect of this is that it looks in St'át'imcets like

accommodation always takes place (except if the accommodated presupposition is necessarily false). This means that although presuppositions exist in St'át'imcets, we won't detect them as easily as in English. Once we adopt this analysis, we can use Elbourne's (32) for St'át'imcets pronouns, and still predict the absence of familiarity effects.<sup>12</sup>

The claim that the St'át'imcets elements do possess presuppositions, which nevertheless do not give rise to HWAM effects, is supported by the fact that consultants will give meta-linguistic judgments that utterances involving presupposition failure 'should not be said'. These judgments survive even under negation and other presupposition holes. With respect specifically to the pronouns, the account predicts that the uniqueness presupposition of St'át'imcets *pro* will be detectable in cases apart from donkey sentences, even though it does not place a restriction on the common ground. This is shown in (37), where the singular determiner is rejected in a case where the referent is non-unique.

- (37) *Context: There are two cups, which both look exactly the same, on the table. I want one to pour my coffee into it. I ask you:*<sup>13</sup>

#sima7-cí-ts	ti=zew'áksten=a	
come.here-IND-1SG.OBJ	DET=cup=EXIS	
'Give me the cup.'		
sima7-cí-ts	ku=pála7	zew'áksten
come.here-IND-1SG.OBJ	DET=one	cup
'Give me one cup.'		

If the determiner *ti...a* had no uniqueness presupposition, there would be no reason for the first reply in (37) to be bad.

In summary, we can adopt Elbourne's (32) directly for St'át'imcets *pro* (with a plural version for *wit*), correctly accounting for both the donkey interpretations as well as for the fact that St'át'imcets pronouns, while possessing uniqueness presuppositions, can be used in novel contexts. The cross-linguistic variation in familiarity effects for pronouns/Ds derives from a broader lack of familiarity effects in the entire St'át'imc language.

## 7. A Non-Parallel Between Pronouns and Full DPs

Now we turn to a complication. It turns out that in spite of the parallels discussed so far between St'át'imcets pronouns and full DPs, the two classes actually differ on almost all the core interpretations: unlike pronouns, full DPs allow *only*

<sup>12</sup>There is of course a large current literature on the nature of presuppositions and whether and how they affect the felicity of discourse, which I cannot address here; see Beaver (2001), Zeevat (2003), Abusch (2005), Simons (2001, 2006a,b), Schlenker (2008a,b), among many others.

<sup>13</sup>See Gillon (2006) for a different result in Skwxwú7mesh Salish, where the counterpart determiner to St'át'imcets *ti...a* can be used in the situation in (37).

referential interpretations. This is schematized in (38).<sup>14</sup>

(38) interpretation	pronouns	full DPs
referential	√	√
bound variable	√	x
donkey	√	x
other E-type	√	x

(39-40) show that St'át'imcets does not allow bound variable readings of full DPs.

- (39) qwal'út.-s-as s=Mary tákem i=kúkwpí7=a kéla7  
 talk-CAUS-3ERG NOM=Mary all DET.PL=chief=EXIS first  
 s=tsicw=s ti=kúkwpí7=a l=ti=q'élza7ten=a  
 NOM=went=3POSS DET=chief=EXIS PREP=DET=sweatlodge=EXIS  
 'Mary talked to every chief before *the chief* went into the sweatlodge.'

Does it mean she talked to each chief before that chief went in? "No, that would be *i kúkwpí7a* [plural] – *ti kúkwpí7a* means just one."

- (40) qwal'út.-s-as s=Mary tákem i=kúkwpí7=a múta7  
 talk-CAUS-3ERG NOM=Mary all DET.PL=chief=EXIS and  
 i=sesq'wez'-í=ha kéla7 lh=as ulhchw  
 DET.PL=y'ger.sibling-3PL.POSS=EXIS first COMP-3CONJ enter  
 ti=kúkwpí7=a l=ti=7ístkena  
 DET=chief=EXIS PREP=DET=pithouse  
 'Mary talked to every chief and his brother before *the chief* went into the pithouse.'

Consultant's comment: "Only one chief went into the [pithouse]."

(41-42) illustrate the absence of donkey full DPs; see also (4) above.

- (41) #tákem i=sqáycw=a wa7 s-tsúwa7 i=ts'qáx7=a  
 all DET.PL=man=EXIS IMPF STAT-own DET.PL=horse=EXIS  
 ama-s-twítas ti=ts'qáx7=a  
 good-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET=horse=EXIS  
 'Every man who owns a horse loves *the horse*.'

Consultant's comment: "No, because it's only one horse."

<sup>14</sup> When full DPs contain pronouns, the pronouns may be bound, giving rise to apparent narrow scope/bound readings for the full DP (Kratzer's 1998 'pseudo-scope'). See Matthewson (1999) for analysis, and see (9) above for an example.



- (42) \*lh=wá7=as      sqáxa7    ti=sqáycw=a,    wa7    papt  
 COMP=IMPF=3CONJ    dog      DET=man=EXIS    IMPF    always  
 tsew'-en-ás      ti=sqáx7=a  
 kick-DIR-3ERG    DET=dog=EXIS  
 'If/when a man owns a dog, he always kicks *the dog*.'

(43-44) show that using absent or plural determiners doesn't save the donkey DP.

- (43) # tákem    i=sqáycw=a      wa7    s-tsúwa7      i=ts'qáx7=a  
 all      DET.PL=man=EXIS    IMPF    STAT-own      DET.PL=horse=EXIS  
 ama-s-twítas      ni=ts'qáx7=a  
 good-CAUS-3PL.ERG    DET.ABS=horse=EXIS  
 'Every man who owns a horse loves *the horse*.'

Consultant's comment: "No. It's still only one."

- (44) # tákem    i=sqáycw=a      wa7    s-tsúwa7      i=ts'qáx7=a  
 all      DET.PL=man=EXIS    IMPF    STAT-own      DET.PL=horse=EXIS  
 ama-s-twítas      i=ts'qáx7=a  
 good-CAUS-3PL.ERG    DET.PL=horse=EXIS  
 'Every man who owns a horse loves *the horses*.'

Consultant's comment: "They love all the horses. Not just their own, but all of them."

(45) shows that full DPs cannot have E-type readings, unlike pronouns.<sup>15</sup>

- (45) # wa7    tsutánwas    k=John    kw=s=cuz'      kwámem  
 IMPF    think      DET=John    DET=NOM=going.to    take  
 ku=ts'úqwaz'    nílh=t'u7    xát'-min'-as  
 DET=fish      FOC=just    want-RED-3ERG  
 kw=en=cuz'      q'wél-en      ti=ts'úqwaz'=a  
 DET=1SG.POSS=going.to    cook-DIR    DET=fish=EXIS  
 'John thinks he's going to catch a fish, and he wants me to cook *the fish*.'

Consultant's comment: "No, because he hasn't caught it yet."

The challenge, then, is that St'át'imcets pronouns and full DPs are similar in lacking familiarity, but differ in that the full DPs lack any bound, donkey or E-type interpretations. The solution must be that the St'át'imcets overt determiners have some extra constraint which stops them having covarying interpretations.

The idea I will propose is that deictic features of the overt DPs force reference to the discourse situation, and this prevents binding or variation across situations. This will rule out both bound variable readings and all E-type

<sup>15</sup>There are a few exceptions to this, involving bridging; see below.

readings.<sup>16</sup> The idea is reminiscent of work by Wolter (2007), who claims that ‘proximal demonstratives may resist opaque interpretations simply because they require the referent to be close to the speaker, which is incompatible with variation across worlds.’

The denotation for *pro* is repeated in (46), and the revised denotation for the singular proximal determiner is given in (47), with the deictic presupposition underlined.

$$(46) \quad \llbracket pro \rrbracket^{g,c} = \lambda f_{\langle\langle s,e \rangle, \langle s,t \rangle\rangle} . \lambda s : \exists! x f(\lambda s.x)(s) = 1 . \iota x f((\lambda s'.x)(s)) = 1$$

$$(47) \quad \llbracket ti...a \rrbracket^{g,c} = \lambda f_{\langle\langle s,e \rangle, \langle s,t \rangle\rangle} . \lambda s : \exists! x f((\lambda s.x)(s_0)) = 1 \text{ where } \underline{s_0 \text{ is proximal to the speaker in } c} . \iota x f(x)(s_0) = 1$$

*ti...a* takes as one of its arguments an NP (e.g., *smúlhats* ‘woman’), and presupposes that the salient proximal situation  $s_0$  contains exactly one element satisfying that NP. The entire DP denotes the unique individual which satisfies the NP in  $s_0$ . (48), for example, roughly asserts that every minimal situation  $s_1$  containing a man and a horse he owns is part of an extended situation  $s_2$  in which the unique man in  $s_2$  loves the unique horse in the proximal situation  $s_0$ .

$$(48) \quad \begin{array}{llll} \# \text{tákem} & i=\text{sqáycw}=a & \text{wa7} & \text{s-tsúwa7} & i=\text{ts}'\text{qáx7}=a \\ \text{all} & \text{DET.PL=man=EXIS} & \text{IMPF} & \text{STAT-own} & \text{DET.PL=horse=EXIS} \\ & \text{ama-s-twítas} & & \text{ti=ts}'\text{qáx7}=a & \\ & \text{good-CAUS-3PL.ERG} & & \text{DET=horse=EXIS} & \\ & \text{'Every man who owns a horse loves the horse.'} & & & \end{array}$$

This means that every man loves a single horse which is in the vicinity of the speaker – which correctly accounts for consultants’ judgments about this kind of sentence.

This analysis predicts that the individual denoted by the DP must satisfy the NP predicate in  $s_0$ . This is correct, as shown in (49-50).

(49) *Context* (*‘The Dog Children’ legend; van Eijk and Williams 1981*): *There is a dog who changes into a man every night, then back into a dog the next day. During the day, when he’s a dog, you see him hanging around his food bowl and you say:*

$$\begin{array}{ll} \# \text{wa7} & \text{q}'7\text{-ál'men} & \text{ti=sqáycw}=a \\ \text{IMPF} & \text{eat-want} & \text{DET=man=EXIS} \\ & \text{'The man is hungry.'} & \end{array}$$

<sup>16</sup>cf. a slightly different approach to a similar generalization by Gillon (2006). Gillon shows that in *Słkwxwú7mesh*, deictic DPs can take wide scope, while non-deictic DPs must take narrow scope. She argues that this is because deictic features prevent a DP from composing via Restrict (Chung and Ladusaw 2004).

- (50) *Context: Same as (49), except that you saw the dog at night when he was a man and he was climbing in the window of a woman's house. You say:*

#wa7 t'k'wíw-lec ni=sqáx7=a lh=7úlhcw=as  
 IMPF climb-AUT DET.ABS=dog=EXIS COMP=enter=3CONJ  
 l=ti=nk'wanústen=a  
 PREP=DET=window=EXIS  
 'The dog was climbing in the window.'

Consultant's comment: "No, because he was a man [when you saw him] and you have to say what you see."

The claim that a full DP in St'át'imcets always denotes an individual in the discourse situation predicts that a singular full DP should never allow a co-varying interpretation, even in bridging cases.<sup>17</sup> This prediction is largely upheld. Typical cases are shown in (51-52); the overt DP can only denote one individual (unlike in English with a definite DP).

- (51) #papt lh=en tsicw pál7alts-min i=ucwalmícw=a,  
 always HYP=1SG.POSS get.there visit-APPL DET.PL=person=EXIS  
 wá7=lhkan qwal'út.-s ti=kúkwpi7=a  
 IMPF=1SG.SUBJ talk-CAUS DET.PL=chief=EXIS  
 'Every time a visit a reserve, I talk to *the chief*.'

Consultant's comment: "Single chief."

- (52) tákem=t'u7 i=áz'=a ku=púkw pzán-itas  
 all=just DET.PL=buy=EXIS DET=book meet(DIR)=3PL.ERG  
 ti=mets-en-táli=ha  
 DET-write-DIR-TOP=EXIS  
 'Everyone that bought a book had met *the author*.'

Consultant's comment: "Same author [for everyone]."

There are a few cases where consultants accept co-varying interpretations of full DPs in bridging cases. These seem to be all instances of what Schwarz (2008) calls 'situational uniqueness'. That is, the relevant referent is always in a part-whole relation to some prior referent, rather than being e.g., the producer of a product (as in (52)). An E-type overt DP in a situational uniqueness case is given in (53). An explanation for these cases will have to wait for future research.

- (53) tákem i=wa7 áma k=wa tqálk'-em wa7  
 all DET.PL=IMPF good DET=IMPF drive-MID IMPF

<sup>17</sup>Thanks to Florian Schwarz for discussion of this point.

n7án'was-aka7-mín-itas    *ti=tqálk'-ten=a*  
 two-hand-APPL-3PL.ERG    *DET=drive-INSTR=EXIS*  
 'Everyone who drives a car well holds on to *the wheel* with both hands.'

In sum, I have argued that we can use Elbourne's analysis of *the/it* for the St'át'imcets pronouns, and appeal to the deictic features of the overt determiners to achieve the lack of bound variable, donkey, and E-type readings of full DPs.<sup>18</sup>

## 8. Implications for the Analysis of Determiners and VP-Ellipsis<sup>19</sup>

Recall that full DPs with determiners which end in =*a* allow only referential readings. They appear to take only widest scope with respect to any scope-bearing element, as illustrated in (54).

- (54) #tákem i=sqáyqeycw=a    melyih-s-as    *ti=emhál'qwem'=a syáqtsa7*  
 all    DET.PL=men=EXIS marry-CAUS-3ERG    *DET=beautiful=EXIS woman*  
 'All the men married *a beautiful woman*.'  
 [They all marry the same one; wide-scope object]

In Matthewson (1999, 2001) I applied a choice function analysis to the =*a* determiners in St'át'imcets. The choice function is existentially closed with obligatorily widest scope. That analysis correctly predicts that all non-polarity DPs take obligatory wide scope.

The problem is that as shown by Davis (2004), VP ellipsis in St'át'imcets allows sloppy readings:

- (54) áylh=t'u7 áts'x-en-as    ta=swúw'h=a    kw=s=Lémya7    múta7  
 now=just see-DIR-3ERG    DET=cougar=EXIS DET=NOM=Léma7 and  
 áylh=kan=t'u7    t'it  
 now=1SG.SUBJ=just also  
 'Lémya7 just saw a cougar, and I just did, too.' [can be different cougars]

- (55) cúz'=lhkacw=ha    ts'áqw-an'    ta=ixitsa  
 going.to=2SG.SUBJ=YNQ    eat-DIR    DET=woodworm=EXIS

<sup>18</sup>As mentioned in footnote 1, Roberts (2004) and others argue that English pronouns have an extra salience requirement not shared by definite descriptions. Preliminary investigations suggest a similar result in St'át'imcets, as shown in (i). This raises interesting questions about the story-beginning data presented in section 3, which I must leave for future research.

- (i) kwís-ts=kan i=q'ém'p=a    metsláka7,    t'u7    q'em'pálmen=t'u7  
 fall-CAUS=1SG.SUBJ DET.PL=ten=EXIS    pen    but    nine=just  
 i=pún-an=a.    t'pán'k-s=a=k'a    ti=q'il'q=a  
 DET.PL=find-1SG.ERG=EXIS    under-3POSS=EXIS=EPIS    DET=chair=EXIS  
 lh=wá7=as    lak    xek    ti=núkw=a / # *pro*<sub>ABS</sub>  
 HYP=IMPF=3CONJ    lie    maybe    DET=other=EXIS / # *pro*<sub>ABS</sub>

'I dropped 10 pens and only found 9 of them. The other one /#*it* is probably under the chair.'

<sup>19</sup>Material in this section relies on Davis and Matthewson (2008).

[lh=cúz'=an                      kéla7]  
[COMP=going.to=1SG.CONJ first]                      (Davis 2004)  
'Will you eat a woodworm if I do first?' [can be a different woodworm]

If we copy the VP, and existentially close the choice function with widest scope, we derive only the strict reading. In (56), we must see the same cougar.

- (56)  $\exists f [[\lambda x . x \text{ saw } f(\text{cougar})](\text{Lémya7}) \ \& \ [\lambda x . x \text{ saw } f(\text{cougar})](\text{I})]$

The only way to derive a sloppy reading is to have two different choice functions, one for the overt DP and one for the elided one, as in (57):

- (57)  $\exists f \exists g \ [ [\lambda x . x \text{ saw } f(\text{cougar})](\text{Lémya7}) \ \& \ [\lambda x . x \text{ saw } g(\text{cougar})](\text{I}) ]$

But this violates parallelism constraints on VP ellipsis: randomly changing variables in the elided VP is not allowed (Fiengo and May 1994).

However, the analysis I have argued for above solves this problem. Recall that pronouns in St'át'imcets can function as bound variables, while full DPs cannot. I derived this contrast from the idea that the overt determiners contain deictic features. The sloppy identity facts now show that elided DPs parallel pronouns in their ability to function as bound variables. The generalization therefore is that whenever the determiner is not pronounced, bound variable anaphora is possible. All we have to assume, then, is that when a determiner is elided, it loses its deictic features. Its denotation reduces to that of a pronoun, and sloppy identity is predicted in the same way as Elbourne's analysis of English pronouns/determiners predicts sloppy identity.

There is independent evidence that deictic features are lost under ellipsis, coming from VP-ellipsis cases where the required deictic properties of the overt DP and the elided DP differ, yet the identity condition on ellipsis is clearly satisfied. This is shown in (58), which would be bad with an overt absent determiner on ‘Bill’s grandmother’.

- (58) *Context: John's grandmother is dead [i.e., absent], Bill's grandmother is still alive and is sitting with us in the room [i.e., present].*

stexw wa7 xwey-s-ás            na=kwékwa7-s=a  
 very IMPF love-CAUS-3ERG DET.ABS=grandmother-3POSS=EXIS  
 s=John,                    stexw t'it            s=Bill  
 NOM=John                very also            NOM=Bill  
 'John really loves his grandmother, and so does Bill.'            [sloppy ok]

## 9. Conclusions

In this paper I have argued that the semantics of third-person pronouns is cross-linguistically variable, but in at least two languages, the pronouns share basic

semantics with determiners in the relevant language. I have claimed that languages vary in the discourse effects of their presuppositions, and this can affect determiners and third-person pronouns as well as other presupposition triggers. I have argued that determiners may have extra deictic features which prevent binding, and that a situation semantics analysis captures all the facts about St'át'imcets determiners more successfully than the prior choice function analysis.

## References

- Abbott, Barbara: 1999, 'Support for a Unique Theory of Definite Descriptions', *Proceedings of SALT IX*, CLC Publications, Cornell University, Ithaca, 1-14.
- Abbott, Barbara: 2003, 'A Reply to Szabo's 'Descriptions and Uniqueness'', *Philosophical Studies* 113:223-231.
- Abbott, Barbara: 2005, 'Issues in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Definite Descriptions in English', To appear in J. Gundel and N. Hedberg (eds.), *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Reference Processing*.
- Abusch, Dorit: 2005, 'Triggering From Alternative Sets and Projection of Pragmatic Presuppositions', Ms., Cornell University.
- Beaver, David: 2001, *Presupposition and Assertion in Dynamic Semantics*, CSLI Publications, Stanford University.
- Berman, Stephen: 1987, 'Situation-Based Semantics for Adverbs of Quantification', in J. Blevins and A. Vainikka (eds.), *Studies in Semantics*, UMOPL, GLSA, Amherst, 46-68.
- Birner, Betty and Gregory Ward: 1994, 'Uniqueness, Familiarity, and the Definite Article in English', *BLS* 20:93-102.
- Chung, Sandra and William A. Ladusaw: 2004, *Restriction and Saturation*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Chung, Sandra, William A. Ladusaw and James McCloskey: 1994, 'Sluicing and Logical Form', *Natural Language Semantics* 3:239-282.
- Davis, Henry: 2000a, 'Coordination and Constituency in St'át'imcets', *Papers for the 35th ICSNL*, UBCWPL, Vancouver, 49-78.
- Davis, Henry: 2000b, 'Remarks on Proto-Salish Subject Inflection', *International Journal of American Linguistics* 66: 499-520.
- Davis, Henry: 2003, 'Mind the Gap: On Plural Agreement and A'-Extraction in St'át'imcets (Lillooet Salish)', *Papers for the 38th ICSNL*, UBCWPL, Vancouver, 23-45.
- Davis, Henry: 2004, 'VP Ellipsis in St'át'imcets and Some of its Implications', *Papers for the 39th ICSNL*, UBCWPL, Vancouver, 117-140.
- Davis, Henry: 2006, 'The Status of Condition C in St'át'imcets', in S. Bischoff, L. Butler, P. Norquest and D. Siddiqi (eds.), *MIT Working Papers in Endangered Languages: Studies in Salishan*, 49-92.
- Davis, Henry and Lisa Matthewson: 2008, 'VP-Ellipsis and (the Absence of) Choice Functions in St'át'imcets', Poster presented at the Canadian

- Linguistics Association, University of British Columbia.
- Davis, Henry, Ryan Waldie and Rachel Wojdak: 2007, 'Condition C in Nuuchah-nulth', *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 52: 185-222.
- van Eijk, Jan: 1997, *The Lillooet Language: Phonology, Morphology, Syntax*, UBC Press, Vancouver.
- van Eijk, Jan and Lorna Williams: 1981, *Cúystwi Malh Ucwalmicwts*, Ts'zil Publishing House, Mount Currie.
- Elbourne, Paul: 2001, 'E-type Anaphora as NP-Deletion', *Natural Language Semantics* 9:241-288.
- Elbourne, Paul: 2005, *Situations and Individuals*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Fiengo, Robert and Robert May: 1994, *Indices and Identity*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- von Fintel, Kai: 1994, *Restrictions on Quantifier Domains*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- von Fintel, Kai: 2000, 'What is Presupposition Accommodation?', Ms., MIT.
- von Fintel, Kai: 2004, 'Would You Believe It? The King of France is Back! Presuppositions and Truth Value Intuitions', in Reimer and Bezuidenhout (2004), 269-296.
- Gauker, Christopher: 1998, 'What is a Context of Utterance?' *Philosophical Studies* 91:149-172.
- Gillon, Carrie: 2006, *The Semantics of Determiners: Domain Restriction in Skwxwú7mesh*, Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia.
- Hawkins, John: 1991, 'On (In)definite Articles: Implicatures and (Un)grammaticality Prediction', *Journal of Linguistics* 27:405-442.
- Heim, Irene: 1982, *The Semantics of Definite and Indefinite Noun Phrases*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Published 1987, Garland Press, New York.
- Heim, Irene: 1990, 'E-Type Pronouns and Donkey Anaphora', *Linguistics and Philosophy* 13:137-177.
- Kadmon, Nirit: 1987, *On Unique and Non-Unique Reference and Asymmetric Quantification*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Published 1992, Garland Press, New York.
- Kamp, Hans: 1981, 'A Theory of Truth and Semantic Representation', in J. Groenendijk, T. Janssen and M. Stokhof (eds.) *Formal Methods in the Study of Language*, Mathematical Centre Tract 135, Amsterdam, 277-322.
- Kratzer, Angelika: 1998, 'Scope or Pseudo-Scope? Are There Wide-Scope Indefinites?', in S. Rothstein (ed.), *Events in Grammar*, Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Ludlow, Peter and Gabriel Segal: 2002, 'On a Unitary Semantical Analysis for Definite and Indefinite Descriptions', in Reimer and Bezuidenhout (2004), 420-436.
- Matthewson, Lisa: 1998, *Determiner Systems and Quantificational Strategies: Evidence from Salish*, Holland Academic Graphics, The Hague.
- Matthewson, Lisa: 1999, 'On the Interpretation of Wide-Scope Indefinites', *Natural Language Semantics* 7:79-134.

- Matthewson, Lisa: 2001, 'Quantification and the Nature of Cross-Linguistic Variation', *Natural Language Semantics* 9:145-189.
- Matthewson, Lisa: 2005, *When I Was Small – I Wan Kwikws: Grammatical Analysis of St'át'imcets Oral Narratives*, UBC Press, Vancouver.
- Matthewson, Lisa: 2006, 'Presuppositions and Cross-Linguistic Variation', *Proceedings of the North East Linguistics Society* 36, GLSA, Amherst.
- Matthewson, Lisa: in press, 'An Unfamiliar Proportional Quantifier', in A. Giannakidou and M. Rathert (eds.), *Quantification, Definiteness, and Nominalization*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Postal, Paul: 1966, 'On So-Called "Pronouns" in English', in F. Dinneen (ed.), *Report on the Seventeenth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Languages Studies*, Georgetown University Press, Washington, DC, 177-206.
- Reimer, Marga and Anne Bezuidenhout (eds.): 2004, *Descriptions and Beyond*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Roberts, Craige: 2004, 'Pronouns as Definites', in Reimer and Bezuidenhout (2004), 503-543.
- Roberts, Taylor: 1999, 'Grammatical Relations and Ergativity in St'át'imcets', *International Journal of American Linguistics* 65: 275-302.
- Sauerland, Uli: 2000, 'The Content of Pronouns: Evidence From Focus', *Proceedings of SALT X*, CLC Publications, Cornell University, Ithaca, 167-184.
- Schlenker, Philippe: 2008a, 'Be Articulate! A Pragmatic Theory of Presupposition Projection', to appear in *Theoretical Linguistics*.
- Schlenker, Philippe: 2008b, 'Presupposition Projection: The New Debate', paper presented at SALT XVIII, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Schwarz, Florian: 2008, 'Two Types of Bridging With Two Types of Definites', paper presented at Stanford University.
- Simons, Mandy: 2001, 'On the Conversational Basis of Some Presuppositions', *Proceedings of SALT XI*, CLC Publications, Ithaca.
- Simons, Mandy: 2006a, 'Foundational Issues in Presupposition', *Philosophy Compass* 1:357-372.
- Simons, Mandy: 2006b, 'Presupposition Without Common Ground', Ms., Carnegie Mellon University.
- Szabo, Zoltan: 2000, 'Descriptions and Uniqueness', *Philosophical Studies* 101:29-57.
- Szabo, Zoltan: 2003, 'Definite Descriptions Without Uniqueness: A Reply to Abbott', *Philosophical Studies* 114:279-291.
- Thoma, Sonja: to appear, 'Ti Lhápa Ts'úqwaz' Láti7 Q'il'qa: The Forgotten Fish on the Sofa', in L. Matthewson, C. Christodolou and M. Oberg (eds.), *Wenácw Ti7: True Stories by a St'át'imc Elder*, UBCWPL, Vancouver.
- Tomioka, Satoshi: 2003, 'The Semantics of Japanese Null Pronouns and its Semantic Implications', in K. Schwabe and S. Winkler (eds.), *Interfaces: Deriving and Interpreting Omitted Structures*, John Benjamins, Oxford, 321-340.
- Wolter, Lynsey: 2007, 'Situation Variables and Licensing by Modification in Opaque Contexts', *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* 11.